[illegible]--149 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Cataingo—
Cipaya

/162 cont./

neighboring Aymara villages to dispose of their small cheeses directly and specially to sell pig fat /163/ /Figure 2 appears here/ /164/ which, after cheese, is their most important export. They undoubtedly make wool, although I was not able to obtain any precise information on this matter. I only ascertained that pieces of cloth carried in a neighboring village were given to Cipaya women to be [illegible]. Formerly some Cipaya would go to hire themselves out as workers in the "salitreras" (exploitation of nitrates) of Tarapacá. They returned with some knowledge of Spanish and new tastes. This stay away from home had the result above all of opening their eyes to their poor condition and to make them discontented. Since the nitrate beds have been abandoned, nothing remains to draw the Cipaya outside their "bare plain."

The crisis of overproduction which rages over the whole world upset the economic life of the Cipaya. The low quotations [illegible] on the Stock Exchange, or the New York exchange, led to the closing of the mines, the departure of the laborers, and the sale of cheese at a loss. The Aymara no longer come to Chipaya to stock up on cheeses, and the latter accumulate in the round huts and there is no alcohol or coca for festivals. By virtue of the economic cohesion of all humanity the Cipaya themselves are also overproducing, and their present distress is the sister of the one which constricts the hearts of the great proprietors of wheat fields.

These particulars show us that in spite of their apparent isolation, these Indians maintain constant relations with the outside world, and that the fossilization of this tribe is not as total as one might conclude from their material culture.

Hunting. Hunting and fishing play only an insignificant role in the life of the Cipaya. In all, for game they have a few herds of vicuña which make their appearance in the neighborhood of the village, water birds which abound in the numerous lagoons which cut their pastures, and toxo, a kind of small rodent a little larger than a rat. Posnansky (1) asserts that the latter constitutes the principal food of the Cipaya.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 151]

2:Métraux--151 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas - Chipaya Aymara SF5

/164 cont./

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur).
Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Cipaya of Carangas/. La Paz, Bolivia, 1918. p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Cipaya" Language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915. p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/." Congrès international des Américanistes. Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925. p. 91.

the principal food of the Cipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Cipaya catch one; and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

The Cipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Cipaya amuse

[i.e., The Toxo -- Analyst]

Smithsonian--152 E-5 (1930-1931) 1931, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Cavanga-
Ch'ipaya.

/165 cont./ [illegible] Ch'ipaya [illegible]
themselves trapping them with small reed baskets, which are sold
to them by the Indian peddlers who come from Andamarca or
Orinoca. These openwork baskets are, it appears, real fish traps
which the shore-dwellers on Poopó use. The Čipaya use them to
hold small objects (Fig. 3, 9 /see p. 155/).

Preparation of Food

It is more to relieve my conscience than in the hope of presenting new facts that I shall devote a few lines to Čipaya cooking. Their food and the preparation of their dishes are exactly those which have so often been described in connection with the Aymara and Quichua.

The quinua cuticle has, as is known, a bitter and disagreeable taste. To free the seeds from it they are grilled in a dish, then soaked in a stone vat (taksira) (Fig. 2, 1 /see p. 150/) which the Čipaya buy from the people at Huachacalla who make them (1).

1. The vats are sometimes of baked clay.

When the seeds have been softened, a woman takes a standing position in this vat and leaning against a wall, she husks them by turning the lower part of her body (Pl. V, A /see p. 214/). To see them execute this strange gymnastic is a picturesque spectacle. The seeds submitted to this treatment are then spread on a blanket and winnowed by hand.

The quinua is used to prepare a soup or, reduced to meal (akxal'ipe), a pap. Leaves (čafli) of this plant or of cañagua are cooked in water like spinach greens. Maize (tara) is eaten roasted (tsars-tara) or boiled the same as beans. The Čipaya eat /166/ potatoes (kxisa), as everywhere on the altiplano, in the form of čuño.

Cayapa
Cayapa

/166 cont./ when the pit of Chaupi is high enough it is firmly bound with a wood rope and left to dry for a certain number of days. These cheeses, white and tasteless, are consumed with salt which the Čipaya get from the great salt deposits which spread out about 30 kilometers from their village. /167/ /Figure 3 appears here./

/166/ Weapons

The small number of weapons that the Čipaya have is a direct consequence of the insignificance of hunting in their economy. As for war, it is an unknown phenomenon for them. Who would dream of coming to pick a fight with them for possession of the sand dunes or stunted pastures? The only occasions for giving free rein to their bellicose instincts are the festivals. The alcohol they absorb then accentuates the underhand rivalry of the ayas among themselves, and, awakening passions, leads them to often bloody fights. I do not know if any weapons other than sticks and fists enter into play in this case.

The sling (kuruwa) (Fig. 4. A /see p. 157/), which is the weapon par excellence of the Indians of the altiplano, has only a peaceable use in Chipaya: it is used to hurl lumps of earth at llamas or sheep to prevent them from straying from the flock or from the route being followed. It is possible that the Čipaya might have recourse to the sling when they have some quarrels with the people of the other aya, but I was never able to get particulars on this subject. Another circumstance contributes to making the sling of the Čipaya a harmless instrument: the lack of stones able to serve as projectiles.

The bolas of the Čipaya play a role close to that of the sling: they permit them to catch the sheep. The most common type is the ordinary bola. The stones instead of being caught in a leather sheath, as is the case with the archaeological specimens (Fig. 4. D-E), are furnished with a groove which prevents the rope from slipping (Fig. 4. I).

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 156]

9 La Barre E-9 (1937-1938) 1966
BF24 Uru BF24

234 They do little hunting of land animals, but they may hunt the land mate of a herd of vicuña which has been driven from the heights by the cold of winter, then club the remainder of the herd.

235 **Herding.**—The Uru have a few livestock—sheep, cows, and occasional llamas—but these are restricted in number by the exact pasture on the mainland. The cattle are usually half-wild and forage in the swamps, using the succulent *gusi* stalks and roots. The Uru have dogs, guinea pigs, chickens, and pigs; the last are kept in mud sties or allowed to wander through the village.

24 **Farming.**—Maize will not grow in this infertile and cold region, which is more than 12,000 feet (3,600 m.) above sea level; but a few bitter potatoes and some quinoa are cultivated.

252 **Food preparation.**—The few potatoes cultivated are frozen and dried to make chuño. Women grind quinoa with a long, flat, stone muller on a stone metate which slants outward from their laps, then treat it to make a nourishing powder (*pito*). The succulent white root of the totora reed is eaten raw. Shrimplike crustaceans from the river are toasted.

273 Beer is made of quinoa and, when they can get it, of maize, which they chew into chicha.

274 Like all the altiplano peoples, the Uru chew coca.

117

HOUSES

342 Most Uru houses have an oval ground plan, but some are rectangular. The walls are built of rectangular turf blocks laid in horizontal courses, much as the ancient chullpas, or grave-towers, the outer wall often plastered with adobe. The entrance always faces east and is closed at night by a thick door made of bundles of totora reeds placed vertically and joined together at intervals by double horizontal reeds in twined technique. The roof framework is of sticks or of reed bundles; the main ridge of the roof arches east and west, with stick or reed-bundle purlins resting on this ridge and the side walls. This framework is covered with reed mats (pl. 113, *top, left*)—single totora stalks twined at intervals with grass cord. Grass ropes are laid over the mats and tied to pegs in the outside wall. The fire in the mud stove to the right inside the door speedily coats the roof with soot and makes it waterproof. Greasebrush (*tola*), chunks of a woody semi-subterranean plant (*yareta*), and llama dung—in the absence of wood in this treeless region—serve as fuel. Some smaller Uru shelters have a corbeled turf dome instead of a frame with mat thatching. The Sajopara Uru build temporary shelters of mud, "like beavers," similar to the domed houses of the islet of Simillaque. On the Isle of Pazza there are round, stone-roofed houses.

9-La Barre S-9 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

and raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The Chipaya eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

[illegible]

About 1930 there were some 300 Chipaya in Carangas, which was physically divided into noncongruous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The Chipaya kinship system, like that of the Uru, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All Chipaya, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymara*-ized.

[illegible]

The religion of the Chipaya does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the Chipaya than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main Chipaya deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (malku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-malku, Kemperani-malku, Estewan-malku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-malku). The spirits are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-malku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or lizards, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important Chipaya deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the malkus and saints, but is associated with every Chipaya ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

9:La Barre E-6,5 (1938) 1961
SF24 Uru SF24

wooden hulls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[9] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking; spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yobena*), and kill with their *balsa* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*lwki*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *lwki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña*; *wholo*, a word obviously related to Aymará *hoko*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[10] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lassoed, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the viscacha (*qhilai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, roof-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails; and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[9] An Uru *bola* from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[10] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bone-monkey" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *lakaya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'anya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-wooled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala lakaya wari q'anaya, wra wra!*